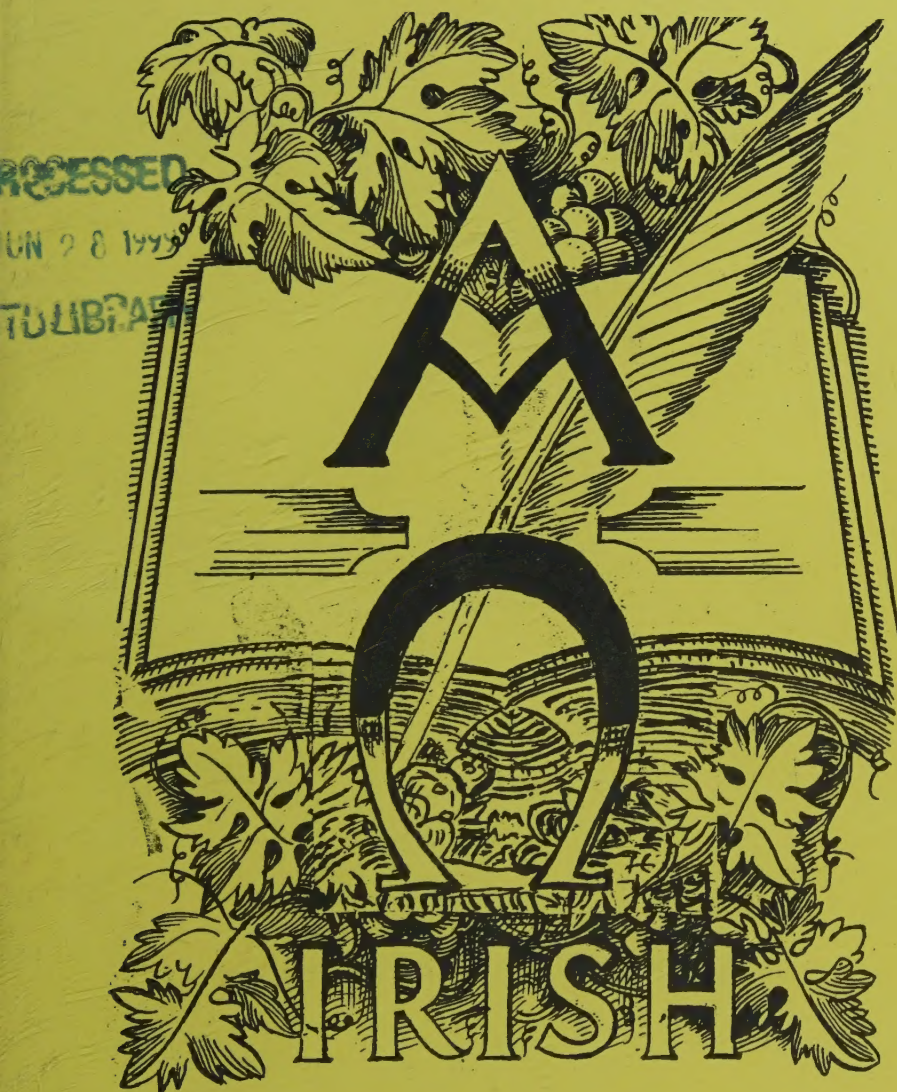


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The Old Testament in the New: A Reply to Greg

Beale

Steve Moyise

In my article on Mark's use of Scripture,¹ I suggested that Mark juxtaposes Old Testament texts with Christian reality (as he understands it) in order to force certain interactions between them. For example, in the parable of the vineyard, the story is almost all gloom; the servants are abused, the son is killed and the landlord is forced to use violence to get what he wants. But the story is 'capped' with the very positive sounding Ps. 118.22-23, 'The stone that the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone. This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.' Drawing on my monograph on *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, I suggested that for Mark, Psalm 118 was not so much an object of interpretation but a means to highlight the transfer motif in the vineyard (by calling it marvellous). The effect of this juxtaposition is that the new affects the old and the old affects the new. The psalm has been given a new subject, while the emphasis of the parable has been changed.

Greg Beale agrees that the 'New Testament interprets the Old and the Old interprets the New' but takes issue with me on three points: a) It is wrong to speak of Old Testament texts receiving new meanings; b) New Testament authors do not take texts out of context; and c) Meaning derives from authorial intention, not the creative processes of readers. In order to establish the first, Beale draws on the work of Hirsch, who distinguishes between 'original meaning' and 'ongoing significance'. With me in mind, Beale offers the following analogy:

The notion that readers create meaning is likely due in part to a hermeneutical flaw of confusing original 'meaning' with 'significance'... By way of illustration, we

¹'Is Mark's Opening Quotation the Key to his Use of Scripture', *IBS* 20 (1998), pp.146-158.

Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New* IBS 21 May 1999 can compare an author's original, unchanging meaning to an apple in its original context of an apple tree. When someone removes the apple and puts it into another setting (say, in a basket of various fruits in a dining room for decorative purposes), the apple does not lose its original identity as an apple, the fruit of a particular kind of tree, but the apple must now be understood not in and of itself but *in relation to the new context* in which it has been placed... The new context does not annihilate the original identity of the apple, but now the apple must be understood in its relation to its new setting.²

The point of the analogy is that though the apple might now be viewed in a different way, it never becomes a pear. Old Testament allusions certainly gain new 'significance' by being placed in a new setting but this does not result in new 'meaning'. The meaning of an Old Testament text is what the original author intended and that never changes. It is only the text's 'significance' that changes. But this sounds to me like a hermeneutical cover-up. If Beale can speak of New Testament authors offering 'new understandings' of Old Testament texts 'which may have been surprising to an Old Testament audience',³ then why is it so wrong to speak of 'new meanings'? If he can agree that New Testament authors offering 'new interpretations' (see below), why must this be understood in terms of 'new significance' but not 'new meaning'? Alternatively, we could adopt Beale's terminology and simply point out that what he means by 'new significance' is what most of us mean by 'new meaning'.

As for the analogy, I would agree that Old Testament texts are not annihilated (though some texts are untraceable) and that they now have to be understood in the light of their new setting. But I would suggest a better analogy would be that of a fruit salad, where we no longer have nice shiny apples but *pieces* of apple, mixed up with

²*John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation* (JSNTSup 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp.51-2. Emphasis original.

³*John's Use of the Old Testament*, p.128.

Moyise, **The Old Testament in the New** IBS 21 May 1999

pieces of pear and *pieces* of banana and covered in syrup. There is a *connection* with the shiny apple that once hung on a tree but on this analogy, one is much more struck by the differences. It is no longer round, the skin has been removed and it has been severed from its core. And the experience of eating it will be considerably different from biting into the original apple.

However, the real problem with this type of analogy is its corporeality. Texts do not have hard surfaces that protect them from change of context. They are more like ripples on a pond, which spread out, intersect with other ripples and form new patterns. Or even less corporeal, texts are like sound waves which 'interfere' with one another, producing a series of harmonics and distortions (hence the image of 'intertextual echo', which is proving popular). Thus my reply to Beale's attempt to show that texts do not change meanings is that texts are *not* like apples which retain their shape when placed side by side with other fruit. As Worten and Still state in their introductory essay on intertextuality, 'every quotation distorts and redefines the "primary" utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context'.⁴

Beale's second point is that it is wrong to speak about taking texts out of context. He acknowledges that John sometimes uses Old Testament texts in ways that are very different (even diametrically opposite) to their Old Testament contexts. But this is explained by noting that 'these new interpretations are the result of John's new, presuppositional lenses through which he is now looking at the Old Testament... *Granted the legitimacy of these presuppositions*, John's interpretation of the Old Testament shows respect for Old Testament contexts.'⁵ But I would suggest that a better way of putting this is to say that while John shows an *awareness* of Old Testament contexts, his Christian presuppositions nevertheless allow him to change, modify and even (on occasions) invert them. In other words, if 'respect for context' simply means

⁴M.Worten & J.Still, 'Introduction', in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p.11.

⁵*John's Use of the Old Testament*, p.127. Emphasis original.

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'understandable given the author's presuppositions', then it surely becomes a truism. Even the most bizarre allegorical use of Scripture could be said to 'respect the context' if we accept the legitimacy of the author's presuppositions. I have no desire to claim that the New Testament authors were ignorant or uninterested in where their quotations and allusions come from. But insisting that they always 'respect the context' does not seem to fit with their practice of offering 'new understandings' and 'new interpretations' and viewing them through their 'new presuppositional lenses'. I would suggest that 'awareness of context' is a more useful phrase than 'respect for context', which suggests some sort of conformity.

Thirdly, Beale places me with those reader-response critics who (he says) believe that a text can mean whatever they like. I am unaware of any reader-response critics who go that far but it is certainly not my position. The point that I tried to make in my monograph was that because texts can point in a number of directions, the reader is always *involved* in configuring these different 'voices' in order to arrive at a coherent meaning. For example, the text of Psalm 118 does not 'cry out' to be linked with the parable of the vineyard (itself based on Isaiah 5). Someone (probably Jesus, in the light of *Thomas* 65-66) decided to link them and thus produced a set of interactions (ripples) which we as readers now have to make sense of. I made such an attempt in my article. Others have come up with different suggestions. My point is not that readers make texts mean whatever they like. It is that in order to arrive at a coherent interpretation, readers have to make choices. How far should we allow the context of Psalm 118 to influence our interpretation of the parable? Should we be concerned with the original utterance of the Psalm, its meaning as part of the Book of Psalms, or how it was being interpreted in the first century? Are we trying to decide what Jesus had in mind or what Mark thought it meant? None of these are simply 'given' to us by the text.

Beale does not see this as a problem for though 'we all have presuppositions which influence the way we read texts, these presuppositions do not blind us from perceiving authorial intentions incompatible with our hermeneutical lenses and from discerning the

Moyise, **The Old Testament in the New** IBS 21 May 1999
different presuppositions of others'.⁶ But since scholars do arrive at positions that differ from Beale, it would appear that what he really means is that *his* presuppositions have not prevented *him* from correctly discerning authorial intention. But it is one of the enduring insights of liberation and feminist writings that 'what one knows and sees depends upon where one stands or sits... the knower helps constitute what is known'.⁷ Pursuit of authorial intention can be a useful goal. But it needs to be remembered that it is a 'construct' rather than a 'given'. Readers have to make decisions as to what constitutes evidence and how it should be construed. And there is no consensus on how to do this. I would suggest that the differences between Beale and myself are confirmation of this.

Steve Moyise

⁶ *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, p.53, n.130.

⁷ W.Brueggemann, *The Bible and Postmodern Imagination* (London: SCM, 1993), p.8.

The Struggle for the Progress of the Gospel at the Heart of the Pauline Mission¹

Gordon Campbell

One core aspect of the Pauline Mission involves Paul, his associates and, by extension, his converts struggling for the progress of the Gospel. This can be demonstrated from a narrow synoptic sampling of what are usually classed as an undisputed Pauline letter, a post-Pauline and pro-Pauline Acts, and then substantiated by an overview of the documents in all three strata. Cannot other such thematic readings achieve positive results, studying the neglected Pauline Mission in all thirteen letters and Acts?

Our subject, though sharply focussed, requires consideration of some preliminaries. This is because the basic question confronting whoever would investigate any aspect of the Pauline Mission is simply this: How are we to go about studying it? And although various answers are easily found, none turns out to be without difficulty. Ought we, for example, to comb the letters of Paul - all of which are occasional pieces - in order to extract enough material for stitching together some sort of reconstructed Pauline Mission as it might have looked? Alas, close reading of the letters alone fails to provide us with sufficient data for a proper contextualization of the various evangelistic efforts, the planting of churches, the renewed visits of Paul or the circumstances which sooner or later called forth his written correspondence. Anything like substantial agreement on a fixed and reasonably complete chronology of Paul's life and ministry continues to elude scholars; and this is essentially due to the fact that, even when all the biographical details harvested from

¹ An embryonic version of our present proposal was put before a non-specialised audience in October 1998, in the form of the inaugural lecture at the Free Faculty of Reformed Theology, in Aix-en-Provence. Hitherto unpublished, that lecture's bones acquire some flesh here. However, we have not included here the conclusions drawn on that occasion as to how one might preach and apply in our day the double-sided coin of the progress of the Gospel word through conflict and suffering.

the letters have been assembled, we have only a minimum yield or, put another way, the puzzle of the Pauline Mission still has too many missing pieces. Thus Paul's letters, by themselves, offer insufficient evidence for piecing together the stage-by-stage development of the spreading of the Gospel undertaken by Paul and his associates.

How can this first obstacle be overcome? Might we, at this point, allow the Acts of the Apostles to be our guide, given that Luke's second volume recounts the ups and downs of Paul's life between his ignominious entry to Damascus as a blind man and his triumphal arrival at Rome as a chained man? Unfortunately, as is well known, trying to harmonise the detail involving Paul in Luke's account with the information found in Paul's letters is nothing short of a brain-teaser: Whilst Paul-on-Paul and Luke-on-Paul show marked resemblances at some points, a combination of the two sets of facts gives rise to at least as many problems as it solves. And neither Paul nor Luke can really be held responsible for that: Paul didn't write his letters so that, one day, we might use them for chronicling his life, times and activities; others than he were ultimately responsible for gathering his correspondence together into the collection we now possess. As for Luke, it cannot be said to have been his intention to tell his readers everything about a quarter of a century of Paul's missionary activity in part of the Mediterranean basin. In consequence, neither Luke nor Paul is to blame if our combination of the indices drawn from Acts and Paul's letters puts some missing pieces into place, but considerably enlarges the incomplete puzzle in the process.²

The inherent difficulties of our investigation into the Pauline Mission and its strategies are further compounded by the contributions - be they assured results or just commonly accepted conclusions - of international specialist study in the public domain. There are two familiar, complicating factors to be reckoned with.

² A good example of the difficulties and their possible solutions is provided by L.C.A. Alexander's recent attempt at establishing a Pauline chronology, based on careful harmonization of Paul's letters with Acts, in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*, Leics, 1993, pp. 115-123.

Firstly, whilst the New Testament Canon presents thirteen letters bearing Paul's name, the dominant scholarly consensus rules that Pauline authorship in the strict sense is only to be extended to seven of them in their final form: that is, those to Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Philippi, the first to Thessalonica and, usually, the letter to Philemon. Only these, after the customary tests have been applied, qualify as genuinely Pauline.³ On the frontiers of true Pauline territory, the letter to Colossae and the second to Thessalonica are subject to border disputes, with scholars divided roughly half-and-half in favour of recognising or of discounting their claims to Pauline authenticity; read either way, the former is a sort of frontier post marking the crossover point from Paul to his heirs;⁴ the latter's possible rejection, based mainly on supposed imitation of the first Thessalonian letter, finds a parallel in the similar argument whereby Ephesians, for its alleged use of Colossians as well as its summary qualities, is placed firmly across the border by a majority of Paul's modern students. A larger proportion still of Pauline specialists consigns the Pastoral Letters, generally seen as an indivisible group,

³ We may take just one recent study of the Pauline corpus and one up-to-date Theology of Paul as examples. Charles Cousar, *The Letters of Paul*, Nashville, 1996, while refusing to treat the disputed letters, as so many do, as "pale reflections of Paul that hardly warrant mention" (p.165), nevertheless regards them as, at best, "in tune with Paul's voice" (ibid.) and all, in one way or another, as contemporizing Pauline tradition for their own day, after his death (p.166). James Dunn, in his *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, Grand Rapids / Cambridge, 1998, p.13 n.39 subscribes eight genuine letters, regarding II Th. as also Pauline (a position he did not state in his article *Pseudepigraphy* in the *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and its Developments*, Grand Rapids / Leics., 1997, p.981), and taking Colossians to have been penned by Timothy just after Paul's death. Although Dunn regards Ephesians and all the Pastorals as definitely post-Pauline, they "should not be wholly dis-regarded when the attempt is made to describe the theology of the apostle whose name they bear" (ibid.).

⁴ One may recall Käsemann's famous dictum that if Colossians is Pauline, it must be as late as possible and if it is not, as early as possible after his death. Dunn (*Pseudepigraphy*, op.cit., p.982) calls Colossians "the bridge between Pauline and post-Pauline."

to a more distant post-Pauline hinterland - often, it must be said, with noticeable relief.⁵

Whatever our view of the true paternity of any of the disputed letters, the seven-letter benchmark adopted by the scholarly guilds represents a more or less stable state of affairs; these constitute the unambiguous Pauline core. This judgment obliges us to ask, are we then only entitled to scrutinize seven letters for undisputed evidence of the apostle's life and work?

Secondly, there is the knotty problem of how to handle Acts. Do we or don't we find there a reliable portrait of Paul? The evidence of Acts has long been considered problematic and of limited worth, in historical judgments on Paul, essentially because Luke is often held not to have known Paul or his activities personally but to have composed a largely rose-tinted account of both, at some remove from the events. And the genre for classifying Acts, in this line of argument, approximates to the modern historical novel;⁶ in

⁵ A particularly robust rehabilitation of Paul is undertaken by Neil Elliott, *Liberating Paul: The Justice of God and the Politics of the Apostle*, Sheffield, 1995. In his chapter *The Canonical Betrayal of the Apostle*, Elliott seeks to "face the facts of pseudepigraphy" (pp.27ff) by unambiguously pronouncing Ephesians and the Pastorals, at least, to be forgeries, "however devoutly motivated they may have been" (p.29), and denying their authors any euphemistic titles such as 'disciple' or 'heir'. A representative remark is the following: "we should be prepared to judge that the author of I Timothy, for example, was as much a betrayer of Paul as his 'disciple', a saboteur of one form of Pauline community as much as a member of a Pauline 'school'" (ibid.). This approach allows Elliott to speak unapologetically of 'pseudo-Paulines' and to exonerate Paul of much of the blame which, in his view, arises from the lingering stigma these letters have left.

⁶ Thus, although he does not judge Acts to be an historical novel, Philip Esler, in *The First Christians in their Social Worlds*, London / New York, 1994, p.39, believes that the analogy with such a writing holds for Acts: Some demonstrably reliable historical details do not allow us to extrapolate out to a generally reliable work as a whole; for Esler, the unhistorical nature of the Cornelius narrative, for example, has been "so meticulously exposed by German scholarship in particular, that the persistence into the present of a belief in its historicity is a cause for wonder" (ibid.). Among the sources of wonderment which Esler will no doubt continue to find we

consequence Luke's 'history' strives only, at best, for a certain verisimilitude. Whilst this Acts model is currently under considerable strain, it continues to be frequently assumed or defended. So again, the question for our purposes here is, may we in the circumstances use any data from Acts for investigating the Pauline Mission?

To sum up, we find our chosen route to the heart of the Pauline Mission barred by a rather formidable combination of four obstacles.

- 1 - our knowledge of the real Paul and his real apostolic ministry proves, in fact, to be quite limited;
- 2 - maximizing what we do know is not simply a matter of combining Luke-on-Paul with Paul-on-Paul, for such harmonization is extraordinarily difficult;
- 3 - the various problems posed by certain of Paul's letters lead many to the conclusion that they were written by other hands than his;
- 4 - the Lukan Paul is customarily adjudged to be a late and partisan portrayal of the apostle.

Another way of describing these obstacles is to say that New Testament scholarship today confronts us with several different Pauls. The pages of our New Testament show us, at one and the same time :-

- (a) - a Paul who wrote some letters (here, we have called him Paul-on-Paul);
- (b) - a Paul in whose name and style others wrote letters reminiscent of him (we might call him Paul-after-Paul?);
- (c) - a Paul who is a kind of hero in Acts (here, we have called him Luke-on-Paul).

Putting things in this way, we would have to go on and add at least one additional Paul - the one found in II Pe. 3:15,16, where mention is tantalisingly made of difficult passages in Paul's letters and of

how the untutored may twist them! And even with four such identifiable Pauls already, his influence is not thereby exhausted; many would acknowledge that a Pauline shadow falls across Hebrews and I Peter (positively) and also James (negatively). At this point, one could be forgiven for abandoning all hope of ever saying anything at all about the Pauline Mission, let alone about what might lie at its core! For, how are we to identify the real Pauline Mission if there is such difficulty in getting the real Paul to stand up?

On the understanding that blocked roads are for clearing, we might nevertheless, at this juncture, want to attempt the foolhardy thing and set about trying to remove the debris that much mainstream scholarship seems to have littered across our path. For instance, by bringing in heavy machinery from those who have been patiently bulldozing the crumbling Haenchen paradigm on Acts.⁷ Or, by putting back upright at least some of the fallen Pauline letters, such as perhaps Colossians⁸, II Thessalonians or II Timothy.⁹ Or again, by opening an agreed corridor through the rubble with the help of some minimum consensus on a Pauline chronology.¹⁰ However,

⁷ The twenty-five essays in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (eds. I.H. Marshall and D. Peterson), Grand Rapids / Cambridge, 1998, clearly represent an altogether different consensus that makes the older German-generated paradigm look decidedly *passé*.

⁸ P.T. O'Brien's brief discussion on authorship in his article on Colossians in DPL (op.cit.), pp.150-2 is a good starting-point for reviewing the case for reading the letter as genuinely Pauline, as O'Brien himself did in his 1982 commentary. A contrasting theological case for a post-Pauline origin has recently been assembled by A.J.M. Wedderburn, *The Theology of the Later Pauline Letters*, Cambridge, 1993, pp.3-71.

⁹ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life*, Oxford, 1997, argues that "realistically, the only scenario capable of explaining the acceptance of the Pastorals, is the authenticity of one of the three letters" (p.357). Murphy-O'Connor follows M. Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second Letter to Timothy* (JSNTSup 23), Sheffield, 1989, and separates II Timothy from the allegedly homogeneous block of three Pastorals; he then uses the letter to illumine the final phase of the apostle's life and work (pp.357-368).

¹⁰ Such as that carefully and suggestively assembled by Rainer Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology*, Grand

others are actively engaged in all of these clearing operations and, given the 'listed building' status of many old paradigms, completion of the work of demolition and rebuilding could be held up for some time yet.

Meanwhile, we propose simply to hurdle all the barriers and run on. Our purpose, here, is to investigate the struggle for the progress of the Gospel which we consider to lie at the very heart of the Pauline Mission. Despite influential arguments to the contrary, we consider that it is methodologically appropriate to sift *all* the available evidence. Since the New Testament Canon offers thirteen letters to individuals and to ecclesial communities bearing Paul's name and since much of Acts is devoted to Paul's missionary activities, all this material has some relation to the Pauline Mission, and everything should be taken into account. Ours will therefore be a thematic sort of synoptic reading: Accordingly, in view of the critical constraints, our strategy will be to ask an identical question of the various different Pauls.

Our method, in this essay, will entail beginning with an uncontested letter of Paul the apostle in which may be found, unambiguously expressed, a concern for the advancement of the Gospel, couched in terms of combat. Next, we will necessarily locate the same issue in a letter of Paul which specialists often label deuterio- or post-Pauline, and assign to some unknown disciple. And lastly, we will demonstrate that the Lukan Paul shares a similar concern, in a comparable context of struggle. We are asking, is there not a way to follow the trajectory of this struggle for the Gospel's advance by traversing all the various parts of the Pauline tradition in the New Testament? And if so, is there not a cumulative argument for recognising this struggle for progress as being something of central importance for the work undertaken by Paul and his co-workers? If such a trajectory exists, then it may be that some of the rubble allegedly strewing the path may clear itself away.

We propose to ask our question first of the letter to the Philippians; though there are some difficulties about its final form, this letter is

incontestably from Paul himself and bears witness to arguably the most intimate apostle-to-church relationship of all the communities he founded. As for the Acts of the Apostles, we will consider the episode that recounts the arrival of Paul, Silas and Timothy as missionary preachers in the same location, Philippi; it will be remembered that this is, moreover, the first Acts narrative where events are recounted in the first person plural, that is, an account where the author purports to have been personally present, or incorporates an eye-witness source, or else pretends one or other of these. Finally, the second letter of Paul we will examine, thought unassailably post-Pauline by most modern scholars, is I Timothy: and we simply recall, at this point, that Philippians has as its joint senders Paul and Timothy, that the latter is shown by Acts, too, to have been a close collaborator of the apostle, and that there is a good case for some, at least, of II Timothy having been part of correspondence in which Paul bequeathed a genuine legacy to his younger lieutenant.

Our investigation will therefore mainly concern one Pauline church - at Philippi, in Macedonia - and two key members of the missionary team that came there with the good news of Jesus, Paul and Timothy. However, we will try, as far as space permits, to indicate the wider contours of our chosen theme as they define the broader terrain of the rest of the letters and Acts.

We may begin, then, with Paul's letter to the church at Philippi and consider without further ado the use made here of the notion of 'progress'. The word προκόπτω is infrequent in the NT, used once by Luke in his infancy narrative (Lk.2:52) and the remaining eight times by Paul; the distribution of these occurrences is a strict fifty-fifty of the undisputed and the contested letters, but significantly, five of the eight uses are found in the letters to Philippi and I and II Timothy (Gal1:14; Ro.13:12; Ph.1:12,25; et I Ti. 4:15; II Ti.2:16; 3:9,13¹¹). To the Philippians Paul speaks of their personal progress

¹¹ προκόπτω, in the last three cases, has a negative implication, for the progress is not that of the Gospel, as in Philippians, but that of heresy, which is therefore no progress at all; the word's meaning is thus defined, in II Timothy, by its association with the Πλανα- word-group. Compare G. Stählin, in TDNT, vol.VI, pp.715,6.

Campbell, **Pauline Mission** IBS 21 May 1999 and joy in the faith (1:25), having already used the very expression 'the progress of the Gospel', phrase which he appears to have coined himself for the occasion, in 1:12; whatever else this tightly-packed phrase may mean, in context it certainly hints at a close linkage between mission and suffering, between the power of the Gospel and the pain of its bearer, between growth in faith and increase in affliction.

This 'progress of the Gospel', by which Paul interprets what has befallen him, is therefore paradoxical in character. For Paul apparently intends the expression to interpret a state of affairs where he, as a prisoner, is unable to make any obvious advance. As he writes, the indefatigable evangelist that is Paul is under arrest and deprived of his freedom of movement; one would therefore tend to think that Paul has left the battle, that his missionary impetus has ground to a halt, that the spread of his Gospel has been unceremoniously and effectively stopped. Paul himself, however, reads the situation quite differently and insists that things are moving forward just the same, for two reasons: In part, because it is universally accepted (so he argues) that it is for Christ that he is in chains (1:13) - in other words, his incarceration speaks missionary volumes; and in part, because the local Christians, whatever may be the place of imprisonment, have been emboldened by his public testimony to speak up fearlessly themselves for the word of God (ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν, 1:14).

In this letter to the Philippians, it is this paradoxical quality of real progress out of apparent regress which connects the theme of the Gospel's advancement with its corollary, the evangelical and apostolic struggle. Some fellow-believers are taking advantage of Paul's fetters by rivalling his apostolic proclamation of the Messiah Jesus, and thereby causing him pain (1:17). As for his own combat, it may be that it is approaching its end; Paul wonders out loud whether he will be condemned and so, by dying, win through to Christ, or whether he will be spared to pursue his efforts for the progress of the Gospel. Opting confidently for the latter possibility of staying alive and pressing on, in which case, he tells them, his remaining with them will contribute εἰς τὴν ὑμῶν προκοπὴν καὶ χαρὰν τῆς πίστεως, 1:25, he calls upon the Philippian Christians to stick to their guns and to fight as one man (μὴ ψυχῇ

συναθλοῦντες) for the faith of the Gospel, not letting their adversaries intimidate them, and showing themselves to be ready to suffer for the Christ (πάσχειν ... τὸν αὐτὸν ἄγωνα ἔχοντες), by carrying on the same struggle that they have seen Paul undertake and that he is engaged in even yet (1:27-30). Here, the image of ἄγων, for Paul, stands for what Stauffer calls “ the conflicts and sufferings of the Christian life... under the sign of the cross.”¹²

When Paul comes to speak of Epaphroditus, messenger and link between apostle and church, he does so in terms which qualify the Philippian emissary, like Archippus in Philemon 2, as a companion at arms (συνεργός and συστρατιώτης,¹³ 2:25,30) who had risked his life for the Gospel cause. And subsequently, Paul exhorts the Philippians, at the point they have attained, to continue advancing together with him (στοιχεῖν, 3:16 - the connotation, here, could be the literal one of a battle-line), a progression for which the example of the Pauline apostolic team's behaviour is to serve them as a role-model for imitation (3:17). In raising the question of the relationship between two female believers, Euodia and Syntyche, Paul encourages the two women to be of one accord and describes them as Christian women who have fought alongside him for the Gospel (ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι, 4:3). A final example which belongs to the register of struggling for the advancement of the good news concerns the famous missionary and combative

¹² TDNT, vol.1, p.139.

¹³ On the curious basis that Paul's use of the στρατ- root vocabulary in II Co.10:3-6 is exceptional, being in this case a non-polemical context (!), Bauernfeind (TDNT, vol.VII, p.710) is unable to grant the word here more than a *general* reference, synonymous with συνεργός. This obliges him to dub συστρατιώτης in Ph.2:25 and the parallel designation of Archippus in Phm 2 as unusual, and to leave the use of στρατεύομαι in I Co.9:7 out of the reckoning, as being too *general*! The argumentation seems to be directed at ensuring that, when considering the Pastorals (p.711), he can claim that the use of the word-group “ for the conduct of Christians “ is transferred (that is, late and non-Pauline), while having to admit that the usage of στρατεία in I Ti.1:18,9 at least is *general* and that in II Ti.2:3-7, whilst less *general*, it is reminiscent of I Co.9:7! This convoluted reasoning, making even an undisputed Paul say less than he actually says, is simply extraordinary!

utterance which typifies the preceding references, namely that Paul can manage anything (ὁ σχύω) through the One who gives him the strength (4:13).

It may fairly be said that, whereas the threat of death hanging over Paul and the deep concern he has for his churches are sufficient to justify the space given, in this letter, to the struggle for the progress of the Gospel, they nonetheless fall short of explaining the theme satisfactorily. Instead, we need to recognize that there is a backdrop of common experience. If Paul takes the time to inform the Philippians of his current struggles, it is undoubtedly because they, of all people, are well able to understand. This is the case, not only because, as he expressly says, they are the only church to have had an active participating role (ἐκοινωνήσεν) with him in the proclamation of the Gospel (4:15,16), but also because of a kind of *entente* which marks the whole tone of the letter and which requires adequate explanation.

For that necessary clarification, we may profitably turn to Acts 16. There, in Luke's account of the beginnings of the Gospel proclamation in Philippi itself, we find an evocation of what remains unexpressed (because it goes without saying) in Paul's letter. Prevented from pushing farther into Roman Asia, the missionary team had aligned its prospects with Paul's vision and crossed the Aegean for Macedonia. We may notice, in passing, that this constitutes an important new phase, a new bridgehead, in the ongoing adventure recounted by Luke of how the good news of Jesus travels from Jerusalem to Rome. One among the various objectives the author of Acts sets himself is surely that of showing the successful onward march of the Word, finding an ever broader hearing among the citizens of the eastern and northeastern Mediterranean area, spawning new disciples and causing the Church to proliferate (Ac.6:7; 12:24; 19:20). In chapter sixteen, we should carefully note the especially numerous references to the proclamation and the reception of the preached Word (Ac.16:6, λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον; v.10, εὐ'αγγελίσασθαι, v.13, ἐλαλοῦμεν; v.14, ἤκουεν, ἧς ὁ κύριος διήνοιξεν τὴν καρδίαν προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου. v.17, καταγγέλλουσιν ὑμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας; v.21; v.32, ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου.

For the missionaries' arrival in Philippi, a crucial new development in the Word's westward expansion, Luke has chosen to relate three instances of effective, apostolic preaching: The first concerns, as hearers, the women who gather at the place of prayer outwith the walls, and includes in particular the response to the Word made by one of their number, Lydia, involved in the purple trade; the third brings about the conversion, in spectacular circumstances in the middle of the night, of the gaoler and tells of his entry, with the members of his family and home, into the household of faith. In between these two occasions for sharing the message of the Gospel, however, is sandwiched a word of exorcism in the name of Jesus, directed at the slave-girl possessed by Python, which provokes the arrest of Paul and Silas. As centre of the Pauline Mission as it impacted Roman Philippi, Luke has therefore located a powerful pronouncement that provokes a fracas, summary (in)justice and an imprisonment. As with other stages in the Word's advance, Luke is content only to report on the founding of the church at Philippi, leaving the sequel to the story untold; but the origins of that church have, at their core, trials encountered and overcome and a battle joined and won, all for the cause of the Word.

It is this very church at Philippi which, year upon year, will fight as one for the very same Gospel cause and will, in due course, receive from its founder a letter, written in yet another prison. It follows that, from its very inception, this church at Philippi was characterized by an awareness that the progress of the Gospel, through the overcoming of whatever obstacles presented themselves, lay at the heart of their apostle's vocation and mission, as well as of their own Christian experience; the reference to their unique involvement with Paul from the very start (4:15,16) says as much. When Paul talks of the fight of faith, they are well placed to comprehend what he is talking about, for his experience and their own are closely intertwined.

But here we pause to take account of Timothy. As Luke has it (Ac.16:1-3), Timothy was recruited by Paul at Lystra (in Lycaonia, or southern Roman Galatia) and joined the apostolic team as a co-worker just prior to the episode at Philippi. Of Timothy Paul says, in his Philippian letter, that he is the only colleague really to have

given himself over with Paul to the selfless service of the churches and the Gospel (ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, 2:22), as the Philippians themselves well know and can testify. Or, as Paul puts it to the Thessalonian Christians, Timothy is a collaborator (συνεργός) with God for the Gospel of Christ (I Th.3:2) who, in time, as a διακονούντος. (Ac.19:22) and veritable right-hand man to Paul, will be capable of being given the direction of more than one Christian community.

When we turn to I Timothy, we find several passages where Paul makes - or is said to make - a number of recommendations to Timothy, details which are sometimes conceded, by those who deny Pauline authorship, as possible reflections or extracts of genuine letters now lost. Amongst these injunctions to Timothy are certain declarations that are of interest to our present concern: Paul recommends that Timothy fight the good fight (στρατεύομαι / στρατεία), holding the faith and a good conscience (1:18,19) - for if we work on and struggle on (κοπιᾶω / ἀγωνίζομαι, 4:10), this will testify that we hope in a living God; furthermore, Paul exhorts Timothy to knuckle down to his ministry, so that his personal progress (προκοπή), as an exemplar for the truth of the Gospel, might be evident to everyone (4:15). One last time, Paul returns to the same theme: Fight the good fight (this time, ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα) of faith and grasp hold of eternal life to which you have been called (6:12). Paul speaks to Timothy as to a resistance fighter. If he, Paul, carries the daily burden of the welfare of the churches (II Co.11:28), Timothy is, for Paul, the only one to be found, as we have already noted, to share this solicitude (2:20,21). It is no surprise, then, that Paul should reserve for Timothy the charge of fighting the good fight of faith (I Ti.1:18,19; 6:12).

For clarity's sake, we may anticipate a wider reference to the whole Pauline corpus and refer to II Timothy at this stage. Whatever the precise link between the two letters to Timothy, an examination of the second at this point confirms what the first has already made clear: Paul who, after maybe fifteen years of working with Timothy, hands responsibility over to him as a father might to his son (II Ti.2:1), exhorts his younger second-in-command to be prepared to suffer like him, if necessary, for the Gospel's sake (initially, in 1:8,

συγκακοπάθησον τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ), developing the idea of suffering as a struggle (συγκακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης / στρατευόμενος, 2:3,4).

As to the Philippians, Paul can speak to Timothy of offering himself as a sacrifice to God: Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι (II Ti.4:6) takes up the similar image for apostolic self-giving and service of σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, (Ph.2:17).¹⁴ And like the Philippian church, no stranger to the opposition amidst which it was born, Timothy, who had witnessed and participated in Paul's trouble-laden ministry from that same point onwards, could appreciate, as they did, an appeal to take up Paul's arms, as it were, of the faith: Though Paul's combat draws to a close, τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγώνισμαι (II Ti.4:7), Timothy's struggle carries on.

Before broadening our purview to include the rest of the evidence that would tend to reinforce or corroborate what we have found, let us briefly recapitulate. We have so far focussed almost exclusively upon Roman Philippi, the Philippian church, Paul who first brought the Gospel there and eventually wrote that church a letter, and Timothy who was his associate for both the early preaching and the later letter. The rapprochement of the various data has meant tracing a precise trajectory through a genuine Pauline letter, then backwards, via the Acts account, to the antecedent founding of the community addressed, and forwards, through a possibly post-Pauline letter, to the stage - whether contemporary or remembered - where Paul is decreasing and his associates, like Timothy, increasing. Although recent canons of historical research upon the New Testament often differentiate between the good, primary evidence to be garnered from an authentic Pauline letter, and the less useful secondary, problematic testimony of the pseudo- or post-Paulines or of a tendentious Acts, we have simply found that Paul-on-Paul, Paul-after-Paul? and Luke-on-Paul all speak essentially with one voice in this case.

¹⁴ "The form of the conflict is supremely suffering... and the meaning of suffering is sacrifice", Stauffer, *op.cit.*, p.139.

We have allowed the three documents to illumine each other's more limited exposure of a quite specific common theme, in such a way as merely to accumulate the relevant details and allow them to contribute to a unified picture. It seems that, even if Acts and one or more of the Pastorals were, for the usual reasons, to be considerably removed from both the horizon and time of Paul, this has not prevented an authentic element of the Pauline Mission from living on in supposedly post-Pauline or pro-Pauline documents - that element being, in this case, the sense of participating in the Pauline Mission and Gospel as a purposeful struggle to move the proclamation of Jesus forward, a combat for real progress despite apparent setbacks. Paul raises the issue with his converts. Acts confirms that these very converts, in particular, would have understood fully what he was talking about. I Timothy is addressed to a co-worker whose experience, according to both genuine Pauline letters and to Luke, matched that of the apostle and the Philippian church in this matter.

We have considered an aspect of the Mission of three Pauls: an uncontested Paul, who speaks directly of the progress-through-trials of the Gospel in his own undisputed letter to the Philippians; an allegedly embellished Paul, hero of Luke and his church in their day, as characterized by Acts, who is called upon to suffer (fulfilling the Word of Ac.9:16) as he moves on and out in the service of that Word; and a would-be Paul, revered mentor of those who, it is argued, carried on his legacy, constituted his school and wrote in his name after his death, whose advice to his trustee, Timothy, preserves the self-same emphasis of combat for the faith. These three Pauls merge into one when we follow the motif of Gospel progress as spiritually-armed struggle through the primary and secondary witnesses to the Pauline Mission; together, at least as they relate to one key location, one key church and one key fellow-worker, they convey one and the same message.

It is now appropriate to cast our net more widely, and to ask if material consonant with a sense of struggling for the progress of the Gospel has left its mark elsewhere on the remaining Pauline corpus and on the rest of the Acts narrative. The flag is seen still to fly, first of all, at the Pauline frontier; whether or not he wrote Colossians, to a church born out of Epaphras's preaching, the terms of Co.1:5,6

already unmistakably reflect the Philippian conviction: the λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (v.5) continually bears fruit and increases (v.6, καρποφορούμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον). Confirmation comes later, in the expression of the apostolic vocation to suffer for the churches' sake: Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστίν ἡ ἐκκλησία, Co.1:24, a ministry described in context as a struggle (κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος 1:29, and ἡλίκον ἀγῶνα ἔχω, 2:1). And whether or not Paul wrote a second time to the Thessalonians, the marked progress of their faith and increase of their love (ὑπεραυξάνει / πλεονάζει, II Th.1:3) strike a by now familiar chord.

Even though labelling as Pauline Colossians as a whole causes hesitation, the use of ἀγωνίζω – ἀγων that we have noted in Co.1:29, 2:1 is obviously an authentic linkage; and Epaphras, apostolic associate, stands with Paul and with the community at Colossae as one ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (4:12). The context, here, is one of prayer, as is also the case when Paul asks the Roman Christians to struggle alongside him (συναγωνίσασθαι, Ro.15:30). Paul describes his work for the Gospel, in possibly his earliest letter, as an ἀγων amid perils (I Th.2:2). For Stauffer, “there seems to belong to the whole concept of ἀγωνίζεσθαι the thought of obstacles, dangers and catastrophes through which the Christian must fight his way.”¹⁵

The Thessalonians had received and responded to the Word ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ (1:6), in circumstances Paul compares with those of Philippi (2:2): Indeed, λαλῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πολλῷ ἀγῶνι is as pregnant a statement of Gospel advance through trials as any other, Philippians included. Just as their apostles had suffered to bring them the good news, and expected to do so again (θλίβεσθαι, 3:4), so also the Thessalonian Christians had suffered persecution for living it (2:14) and needed fortifying for the resultant afflictions (3:3). The stability (σῆμαι, 3:8) and growth in faith of the Thessalonian church is progress

¹⁵ TDNT, vol.1, p.138.

which sustains Paul and his companions in their ongoing trials and inspires Paul's prayer (3:11-13). In this context, the extreme brevity of ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε (5:17), in keeping with the terseness of the other injunctions, should not blind us to what we have found to be a regular organic link between struggling, progress, and prayer.

Staying on indubitably Pauline ground, of however unstable a sort, the apostle can write to Corinth and compare the service of the Gospel cause (I Co.9:23) to the *agony* or strict discipline of the athlete (9:25). In the second letter, he can tell the Corinthians (II Co.10:15) of his hope that their faith will be 'augmented' (αὐξανόμενης) and the apostolic activity on their behalf increased, also (μεγαλυθῆναι). These sentiments form part of the apology for apostolic authority and action presented from II Co.10:1 onwards, in the course of which an extended combat metaphor is developed: στρατεύομαι, στρατεία (τὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν), αἰχμαλωτίζω, ἐκδικάω (10:3-6).

With these references from the two Corinthian letters, we have almost completed our conspectus of the undisputed correspondence, having found the Philippian theme of Gospel progress through suffering to be variously present in Romans, I Thessalonians and even, by association, in Philemon. Only Galatians remains. In the Galatian churches, the early progress of Paul's Gospel, which had produced life in the Spirit (3:3-5) as a sign of their divine sonship (3:26), has given way to slippage into substitute powerless rites; those who from ignorance had come to know God and to be owned by God were falling back into slavery (4:9) and forfeiting their joy of salvation (μακαρισμός, 4:15); thus, the virulence of Paul's writing reflects the perceived peril of his converts, so that the letter as a whole represents an acute form of the concern he has for the building up of all the churches. When, in conclusion, Paul brings up the scars he bears for Jesus (Ga.6:17), he does so in respect of the apostolic troubles (κόπους) which he would rather not see compounded; his birth-pangs for bringing forth mature christlike believers (ὠδίνω, 4:19), whose lives bear appropriate fruit (5:22,3), suffice. Persecution for genuine apostolic ministry and for co-crucified Christian life in the Spirit is also assumed to be customary in this letter (2:19; 5:11; 6:12, for which compare 5:24).

Given the absence of our chosen thematic trajectory from the letter to Titus, it only remains to consider Ephesians among the disputed Paulines. That this is really a general or circular letter is well-known, as for example the unnecessary allusion (for the Ephesians, who knew Paul well) to apostolic responsibility, οἰκονομία, in Ep.3:2 confirms. In one familiar passage, Paul develops a military theme where the letter's Christian recipients are twice exhorted to don full battle dress and equipment (πανοπλία, 6:11,13, broken down into its constituent parts in vv.14-17), so as to stand firm and to hold out (σῆναι 2x, ἀνιστῆναι). Although the detailed correspondences between the various arms and the Christian qualities each represents is without parallel elsewhere in the Pauline corpus, it is instructive to note the familiar culmination in the arena of prayer; the prayer-warrior's due vigilance (ἀγρυπνέω) and perseverance (προσκαρτερήσις), 6:18,19, are directed at the difficulties of Paul's missionary task: His addressees are asked to stand and resist with him, so that the Word may be on his lips (v.19a), the Gospel's mystery freely made known (v.19b) and his task of proclamation duly carried through (v.20). Here, once again, in a picture especially reminiscent of the Philippian letter, we have Paul's struggle to propagate the Gospel despite his chains.

Turning now to Acts, a broad sounding produces, in addition to the references, in chapter sixteen, to the Word proclaimed and received, many similar ones (8:4,14,25; 10:44; 11:1,19; 13:5,7,44,48; 14:3,25; 15:35,6; 17:11,13; 18:5,11). More specifically, the advance of the Word is drawn attention to, on several occasions, in strategically placed summaries: Ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἤϋξανεν καὶ ἐπληθύνετο 12:24, repeated verbatim from a longer summary in 6:7, and κατὰ κράτος τοῦ κυρίου ὁ λόγος ἤϋξανεν καὶ ἴσχυεν, 19:20. "This unusual application of the language of growth signifies the advance of the Gospel and the movement it creates."¹⁶

¹⁶ David Peterson, *Lukes's Theological Enterprise: Integration and Intent*, in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (op.cit.), p.541. For M.H. Grumm, *Another Look at Acts*, ExpT 96 (1985), pp.335,6, the progress of the Word is a veritable *cantus firmus* of Luke's message. The Word (10x), the Word of God (12x), of the Lord (10x), of his grace (2x), of his

More significantly, for our purpose, all three summaries bring to a climax narratives where conflict is resolved or opposition and persecution overcome;¹⁷ the very structuring of Luke's narrative mirrors the conviction of Paul, expressed in Philippians 1, that the Gospel progresses in spite of appearances to the contrary - suffering and the successful progress of the Word, in the ministry of the Lukan Paul, go hand in hand.

It is true that we see something of Luke's authoreal purpose when, episode after episode, he describes how Paul and his fellow-combatants both face and face down many trials. But this is no mere literary conceit, shaped to serve his pen. Paul himself, writing to the Corinthians (II Co.11:23-28), lists a catalogue of sufferings that is at least twice as long and that is concentrated in a daily care - ἡ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, v.28. It appears, then, that the normal apostolic vocation, in the service of the spread of the Gospel concerning Jesus, was experienced and understood, by Paul and his associates (as by Luke, in part their biographer), to entail being regularly tried and tested in the crucible of suffering. We have been content, here, to juxtapose Paul's Philippians with Luke's Philippi, but further corroboration would arise from comparison of the Thessalonian letters with Acts 17. This structural reflection, in Acts, of a key set of Pauline convictions is, in itself, of sufficient import as to beg further questions of the old consensus that Luke-on-Paul is a romance, not to be taken too seriously for historical purposes.

What have been the results of this inquiry? Our investigation has upheld the view that the struggle for the progress of the Gospel is an idea to be found at the very heart of Paul's reflection on his apostolic ministry, as this missionary thinking finds expression in his missionary letters. The same emphasis persists in the disputed letters and proves to have almost programmatic significance for Luke in the Acts. All of the New Testament materials specifically related to Paul, with the exception of the letter to Titus, have at the very least some of the terminology (Romans, Philemon) which transmits this progress-through-conflict mindset. The letters to

gospel and of his salvation (1x each) is almost a personified hero of Luke's narrative.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.542.

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churches founded by the Pauline missionary circle are either strongly marked by a consciousness of a vocation for the Gospel's proclamation which must incur adversity en route to progress (Philippi, Thessalonica, Colossae) or, at least, show by more incidental confirmation that this is a perceived norm (Galatia, Corinth). The letters to Timothy, co-author with Paul of all the correspondence most strongly coloured by this mentality, share the same horizon of missionary advance via apostolic ordeals. And in all the evidence presented, apostolic experience shares an interface with that of the converts themselves.

If it is possible, in this way, successfully to undertake a narrowly focussed thematic reading of a core aspect of the Pauline Mission, could such a synoptic approach commend itself for further study of Paul's somewhat neglected missionary thought and strategy?¹⁸

¹⁸ Riesner, *op.cit.*, has perhaps blazed a new trail in this area.

If God created Adam in his own image, in the image of God created he him, how is Christ The Image of God?

J.C.O'Neill

Summary:

The phrase *The Image of God* is shown to be a title for the Messiah, the Son of God, before any of the New Testament was written. The very casualness with which the term is used in the New Testament supports this conclusion, as do references in Philo and a traditional interpretation of the ascent and descent of the angels in the Targums and Talmud.

Gunkel wrote:

Taking the Christology of the New Testament as a whole, the historic person of Jesus and his influence is only one factor among others: indeed, the most important parts of Christology are not derived from the historical Jesus but arose independently of him and before him...

One recalls the many mythical features that we have already [in earlier discussion] found in the Christology of the New Testament. Look at all that has already been identified with Jesus: the enthronement of a new God, the God of the book, in Revelation 5;¹ the rescued child of the Sun and Dragon-slayer of chapter 12; the supernaturally conceived hero of the infancy narrative; the one who travels to Hell and to Heaven! All this is transferred to Jesus because it already belonged to Christ before him. That is, we maintain, the secret of New Testament Christology on the whole. The image of the heavenly Christ must have arisen somewhere, before the New Testament. We now know, from a few

¹ I have interpolated some words here in order to explain the expression *der Magiergott*, relying on pp.60-62.

traces in Jewish apocalypses, that such a belief existed in Jewish circles...²

A little earlier in the same book, Gunkel said that we have to reconstruct this Judaism out of the New Testament itself.³ This paper will attempt to show that title of *The Image of God* given to Christ in many parts of the New Testament can be seen, from the New Testament itself, to belong to a given Christology that was in existence long before Jesus was born. It is possible, from the scattered references, to reconstruct the well-articulated belief, based mainly on Genesis 1:27, that made possible the casual references in the New Testament to Christ as *The Image of God*.

At the end I shall try to show that Philo of Alexandria has preserved traditions that already express this belief, and that rabbinic sources bear witness to the same theme.

I

We can see that the belief that Christ was the Image of God was already current by the way it is introduced incidentally into a saying that is dealing with another issue. 2 Cor 4:3-4 is arguing that the veiling of the gospel to some hearers is the result of the God of this World who blinds the eyes of unbelievers; the author simply throws in at the end the remark that such unbelievers' blinding means that they cannot behold the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ who is the Image of God. He is not arguing for a new title, simply drawing on a well-known belief.

Similarly, in 2 Cor 3:18 we are all exhorted with unveiled face to gaze on the glory of the Lord—and this *glory of the Lord* is quite unselfconsciously identified as *this same Image*. Christ must be meant, and the readers are assumed to know without telling that *Glory* and *Image* are both titles for him.

A more difficult passage is Rom 8:29, but, however difficult, it shares the same feature of being about something else; the phrase *The Image* as a title of the Son of God is simply thrown in, and the

² Hermann Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. I.Band 1.Heft; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903), pp. 64, 93.

³ Gunkel, p. 64.

readers are assumed to be familiar with the convention. I would translate Rom 8:29: "Those whom [God] has foreknown he has also fore-ordained to be moulded to the likeness of the Image, his Son, so that the Son is to be Firstborn with many brethren."⁴

This presupposed belief that Christ was the Image of God comes to explicit expression in Col 1:15: ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως. The title is assumed to be well-known, and the bearer of the title is the Firstborn over all creation: *He it is who is the Image of the Invisible God, Firstborn over all creation*. The term *born* excludes the idea in this context that the Image was created, so that it is not possible to maintain that The Image of God was simply part of creation. We must agree with Lindesog that this verse "introduces the great christological section of the Epistle and so stands in a context where no one can deny its pregnant sense." Lindesog has previously drawn the inescapable conclusion that the expression had already entered the common currency of the readers of the epistles. Colossians in particular shows a liturgical or dogmatically settled formulation.⁵

It is fairly simple to reconstruct the exegetical basis of this title for Christ. In Gen 1:27 it is said that Adam was made *according to the image of God*. This was taken to imply that God had an Image according to which Adam was made. This Image is the *Image* explicitly referred to in Rom 8:29; 2 Cor 3:18; 4:4 and Col 1:15. Adam is not *the image of God* but is *made according to the image of God*, on this understanding. The phrases *the old man* and *the new man* do not refer to Adam and Christ, for the *new man* is *humanity renewed in knowledge according to the image of him who created the new humanity* (Col 3:9-10). Notice the important κατὰ, according to. The *Image* is the being who can create the new humanity, a new humanity renewed according to the Image. This clear distinction between Adam and his descendants who share his image, and the possibility of humanity being renewed so that it again exists according to the Image in heaven holds good for 1 Cor 15:49 as well. "And as we bore the image of the earthly one, we

⁴ The phrase πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς cannot mean *firstborn of many brothers*; ἐν probably means *with*, as in 1 Cor 15:18.

⁵ Gösta Lindesog, *Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schöpfungsgedanken I* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 1952:11; Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1952), pp.226-230 at 228.

shall bear [or let us bear] the image of the heavenly one", that is, live *according to* the heavenly model. In Eph 4:24 the new humanity is created not *according to the image of God* as in Col 3:10 but *according to God, for righteousness and true holiness*. *God* and *the Image of God* are interchangeable.

There does seem to be one exception to this general rule, the rule that *The Image of God* is the title of the heavenly being, and humanity is *according to* the image, living or not living *according to the Image of God*. In 1 Cor 11:7 a man, as opposed to a woman, seems to be called *the image of God*: "For a man ought not to cover the head, being the image and glory of God." We should leave out of account the rest of the verse which says that the woman is the glory of the man, since it is impossible to make *the glory of God* and *the glory of the man* correspond: a woman can hardly be the glory of her man in the same way as the man is the glory of God, for surely the woman is someone the man is proud of and the man's action of covering his head can hardly have anything to do with God's being proud of man. The whole passage seems to be a collection of originally independent sayings, linked by catchwords; here the catchword is δόξα, glory. This is evident if we plot the varying senses given to the word κεφαλή. ⁶

When we take the first part of the verse by itself, we are still confronted by great difficulties. As Jervell notes, we would expect the author to say that Christ was the image and glory of God, according to the argument in verse 3 that the head of every man is Christ.⁷ Perhaps we should take *the image and glory of God* indeed to refer to Christ, and understand ἀνδρί as the unexpressed indirect

⁶ For evidence that Paul's epistles contain collections of aphorisms linked together by catchwords, see J.C.O'Neill, *Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), pp. 192-207 on Rom 12; "Adam, who is the figure of him that was to come: A Reading of Romans 5:12-21" in Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce and David E. Orton, *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 8; Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 183-199; "The Holy Spirit and the Human Spirit in Galatians: Gal 5,17", *Ephemerides Theologicae Louanienses* 71 (1995), 1107-120.

⁷ Jacob Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1,26f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, N.F., 58; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), p. 298.

object of the verb ὑπάρχων: "For a man ought not to cover the head, the Image and Glory of God being present for that man." If that is at all possible, then we have found a general rule in the New Testament that *The Image of God* is a title for Christ, and humanity was made, and should be remade, *according to him*.

In 1 Cor 15 there are two passages that refer to Adam as the first man and to Christ either as the last Adam (1 Cor 15:45) or as the second man (1 Cor 15:47). The use of two different terminologies so close, and without any authorial explanation, alerts us to the fact that here we have another collection of traditional sayings. Each must be taken by itself; and, though the terminology is different, the underlying theology is likely to be the same.

In 1 Cor 15:45 the author cites Gen 2:7, the passage about how God breathed into the face of the man he had made out of dust the breath of life and he Ἐγένετο εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν. Notice that the Spirit is already mentioned. The midrash in 1 Cor 15:45 continues: Ἐγένετο ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν. The adjective *last* here cannot mean last in time, since there is no particular eschatological matter under consideration; it must have its common meaning of *ultimate* or *highest*. Nor can the ultimate Adam become anything, for all interest is concentrated on the state of the first Adam, not the state of the ultimate one. It seems that the literal translation of the Hebrew by Ἐγένετο εἰς must mean something like *was there as*: the first man, as a result of God's breathing the breath of life into him, was there as a living soul; and the ultimate Adam was there as the life-giving Spirit.

Again, in 1 Cor 15:47 we have a midrash on the first man and the second man. Who can the second man be? It is likely that this is the man referred to in the messianic prophecy of Gen 3:15, Eve's seed that would bruise the serpent's head and whose heel the serpent would bruise. If that is so, then the second man is to be the heavenly Image of God who would be born of a later Eve. That seems to be the exegesis behind Gal 4:4-5.

The same underlying Adam—Christ typology is to be found in Rom 5:12-21 and 1 Cor 15:21-22.

There are other New Testament passages that belong to the same scheme of interpretation of Gen 1. 26 and 27, for, as Jervell notes, the double phrase *image and glory* probably corresponds to the double expression in Gen 1.26 בְּצִלְמֵנוּ כְּדְמוּתֵנוּ. The

reference back in 2 Cor 3.18 from τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα to τὴν δόξαν κυρίου supports the suggestion. If there is anything in this, then all the references to *The Glory of God* are potentially references to Christ in the old set of beliefs we are uncovering. In John 1:14 the glory seems to be simply the quality of the incarnate only Son, but in 2 Cor 4:6 the phrase is more likely to be a title: "For it is the God who said, Let light shine out of darkness, who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of *The Glory of God* in the face of Christ."⁸ Similarly Heb 1:3 seems to call the Son *the radiance of the Glory and the imprint of the Being of God*.

Finally, an *image* of someone could be said to be ἐν μορφῇ in the likeness of someone. The figure in Phil 2:6 who is *in the likeness of God* is probably rightly seen as The Image of God.

II

Are there any traces in Jewish writings of the time of such a settled reading of Gen 1:26-27 according to which God always had with him a being that was named *The Image of God*? Are there any traces in Jewish writings of the time that such a being could have been thought of as coming down from heaven and living as a man on earth?

Philo of Alexandria has preserved many traditions, not all of which fit neatly into one system. Among those traditions there is abundant evidence for the exegesis of Gen 1:27 that we deduced from the scattered New Testament passages.

In *de somniis* i.239 Philo gives a tradition that says that, just as those who cannot see the sun itself see the rays of the sun, and just as they see the halo around the moon as the moon itself, so they comprehend the Image of God, the Word his messenger, as God himself. Similarly in *de confusione linguarum* 97, those who choose Moses to be their guide, and to see (Ex 24:10), desire to see God; if they cannot see God, they see his Image, the most holy Word.

In a complicated set of traditions in *de fuga et inventione* 100-101 the words of Exodus 25:21, *I will speak to you above the mercy-seat, between the two cherubim*, are interpreted allegorically. The two cherubim are the two Powers of God, the Creative Power and the Royal Power. He who speaks from above the mercy-seat is the divine Word which is invisible yet is called The Image of God,

⁸ Omit *Jesus* with A B 33 Tert.

the most ancient of the objects of the intellect, the one who is nearest to the Only One. Finally, the Word is the Charioteer of the Powers.

In *de confusione linguarum* 146 anyone who is not yet worthy of being called one of the sons of God should labour earnestly to be adorned according to his Firstborn, the Word, the eldest of the angels, as it were Archangel, bearing many names, for he is Beginning and Name of God and Word. (I think we should stop here, because the next tradition describes not the Word but the faithful seeker, who is to be named "The man according to the Image, the One who Sees, Israel.")

This Word is said, in another tradition reported by Philo, to be the Image of God through whom the world was all at once made (*de specialibus legibus* i.81). In *legum allegoriarum* iii.95-96 Philo reproduces an ancient tradition about the meaning of the name Bezaleel (Ex 21:2). It means *In the shadow of God*. The Shadow of God is his Word by which, as with an instrument, he made the world. This Shadow or Model is the archetype of others. As God is the paradigm of the Image (which is now called Shadow), so the Image becomes the paradigm of others. As the beginning of Genesis says, And God made man according to the Image of God.

The idea that the Word was the agent of creation is, of course, found in Wisdom 9:1 and many other places, but can we find in Jewish writings any inkling of the notion that the Word or the Image of God might be born as a man and live in this world? In *de agricultura* 51, Exod 23:20, *I will send my messenger before your face*, is interpreted of the Right Word and the Firstborn Son. In *de praemiis and poenis* 95, the important messianic prophecy of Balaam in Num 24:7 is referred to in the following words: *There will come forth a Man, says the oracle, and leading his host and fighting he will subdue great and populous nations*. This corresponds to the tradition in Wisd 18:15-16 which tells of the all-powerful Word leaping from heaven out of the royal thrones, a stern warrior in the midst of the doomed land bearing as a sharp sword God's unfeigned commandment, filling all things with death. This Word touches heaven while treading on earth: a tall one, like the

Son of God in 5 Ezra 2:43 and the Best of the Hebrews in *SibOr* 5.256-259.⁹

Professor C.C.Rowland has drawn attention to rabbinic traditions that bear witness to the same theme.¹⁰ The angels who ascended and descended on Jacob's ladder were said to be the angels who had accompanied Jacob into exile. They ascended to heaven to summon other angels, who desired to look on the features fixed on the throne of glory [but could not], promising them that they would be able to see them reflected in the features of the pious Jacob on earth.¹¹ In another version, in the Babylonian Targum, it is reported that a *tanna* taught: They ascended to look at the image above and descended to look at the image below (b. Hullin 91b). It seems that The Image of God was fixed on the throne of glory, and reflected in the features of the righteous man, Jacob, on earth. Jacob may, perhaps, be another type of the Messiah.¹²

Conclusion

The New Testament suggests, by the very casualness of the references, that there was already in existence an old Jewish Christology that saw The Image of God, according to which Adam was created, as a heavenly figure. The Image of God was God's agent of creation, who was to be born and live on earth in order to redeem humanity and restore it to its lost glory. The scattered references in Philo, in particular, supported by later (but ancient) rabbinic traditions about the angels who ascended and descended on

⁹ On 5 Ezra as a Jewish source, see J.C.O'Neill, "The Desolate House and the New Kingdom of Jerusalem: Jewish Oracles of Ezra in 2 Esdras 1-2", in William Horbury (ed.), *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple presented to Ernst Bammel* (JSNT Supplement Series, 48; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), pp. 226-236; on *SibOr* 5.256-259, see "The Man from Heaven: *SibOr* 5.256-259", *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 9 (1991), 87-102.

¹⁰ C.C.Rowland, "John 1.51, Jewish Apocalyptic and Targumic Tradition", *NTS* 30 (1984), 498-507. See also C.F.Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), pp. 115-117.

¹¹ The Targums Pseudo Jonathan, Neofiti I, and the Fragmentary Targum to Gen 28:12, reproduced by Rowland, pp. 501-502.

¹² On the types of the Messiah, see J.C.O'Neill, *Who did Jesus think he was?* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 11; Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 63-64 *et passim*.

O'Neill, **Image of God** *IBS* 21 May 1999
Jacob's ladder, show that we are not far wrong in suspecting that
some Jewish exegetes had already worked out this understanding of
Gen 1:27 long before Jesus was born.

J. C. O'Neill
19 December 1998

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS ON HEROD THE GREAT: THE USE OF POWER AND FAITH IN IMPERIAL ROME

Earl S. Johnson, Jr.

Two recent books on Herod the Great cast considerable light on an important character in the gospels who has been chiefly known in the church as the murderer of the innocents at the time of Jesus' birth (Mt 2:1-23) and the executioner of several members of his own family (his wife Mariamme, his mother-in-law Alexandra, his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, and five days before his own death, his eldest son, Antipater).

Yet, in spite of his cruel reputation, King Herod remains of considerable interest to modern readers because of his raw ability to remain in power despite dramatic political shifts in Rome, his talent as a builder and architect and his largesse to his own people and those outside his kingdom. Following the 2000th anniversary of his death in 4 B.C.E., three years ago, curiosity about his rule and personality is likely to increase.

In *Herod, King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (University of South Carolina Press, 1996, 360 pp, ISBN 1-57003-136-3), Peter Richardson masterfully guides readers through the complicated maze characterizing Herod's rise to power and the 37 years of his reign. Any study of Herod is *de facto* a literary and historical examination of Josephus' *Antiquities* and *Wars of the Jews*. Richardson is able to balance Josephus' frequently contradictory statements against the comments of Roman historians, the evidence of coins and inscriptions, and recent archaeological investigations, to offer critical judgements which have significant implications for those interested in New Testament interpretation, the Imperial background of the gospels and the study of kinship, the relationship between patrons and clients, and the connections fostered by the elite in the period of the New Testament.

Richardson's style is precise, tightly written, carefully researched and eminently well phrased. One might be sceptical of his use, in the Introduction, of a fictive obituary of Herod – yet it serves his purpose of relating a complicated history in an engaging way as well as providing an imaginative method of indicating what Herod's contemporaries might have thought of the king after his death. Even more effective is his recapitulation of Herod's

considerable accomplishments by using Augustus' *Res gestae* as a model – what Herod might have said about his own accomplishments if he had taken the opportunity (pp. 315-318).

A number of considerations which Richardson raises are of direct interest to New Testament scholars and pastors. In regard to Herod's religious background, the common assessment that he was only "a half Jew" because of his Idumean background, is convincingly rejected. Herod was a third generation Jew and evidence suggests that Idumeans chose Judaism by choice rather than being forced into it (53-62). Although Herod was eclectic in his choice of religions, as most Roman politicians were, he remained opposed to the use of images in his building projects and was able to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem in three years (in its initial stage) without offending the religious requirements of the Jews or the political sensibilities of the Romans (248-249). Although Herod chiefly built the Temple to have his name go down in history and improve the image of Judea internationally, he also did it to express the depth of his own Jewish piety (247). As Richardson correctly concludes, Herod's faith did not extend to matters of theology, Torah, eschatology, or God's rule for Israel. His was a practical religion, concerned about the maintenance of the faith of Israel beside that of the Imperial cult. Herod was a Jew, but his faith was simple, uncluttered and geared to religious and political reality (295ff.).

Richardson also provides a valuable assessment of Herod's relationship with the Jerusalem elite and with the major religious groups of his day and their respective theological and political emphases. Correlating information from Josephus and the Dead Sea Scrolls (11QT, 4QMMT, I QpHap , etc), he concludes that Herod generally had an amicable relationship with the Essenes, at least in the sense that they were not demonstrably hostile to him or his Temple (b. Baba Bathra 36), in contrast to their attitude to the Romans (kittim) and the Hasmoneans (who were also Herod's enemies).

In more direct comments on New Testament texts, Richardson provides a useful review of various interpretations of the group called "The Herodians" (Mk 3:16; 12:13; Mt 22:16), arguing that these references are not primarily to Herod's successors but to Herod himself and the continuing support of his family members (259f.).

Comments about Jesus' birth and the murder of the innocents are controversial and are likely to evoke response from other New Testament scholars. Richardson asserts that Jesus must have been born in 7 B.C.E., 30 months prior to Herod's death. His conclusion is based on what he correctly recognises as the "slender threads" and "fragile clue" of the triple conjunction of planets in that year (296,298, n. 108). More concretely, it rests on the possibility that New Testament writers may have creatively connected the account of Herod's murder of the innocents with the killings of his own young sons, even though the former, in Richardson's opinion, is implausible historically.

But one wonders. The killing of the children in Matthew is not out of character with Herod's penchant (one he shared with many other rulers of his day) to use violence, execution and assassination as a means of solving real or perceived challenges to the throne. Possibly archaeological or literary evidence yet to be discovered will settle the question of historicity of Matthew's account.

Equally fascinating are Richardson's judgements about Quirinius' census (Roman taxes could not have been collected and a census could have been conducted while Herod was king under Augustus' direct patronage, p. 301).; the relationship between Herod Antipas and John the Baptist (Josephus' accounts both support and contradict New Testament texts, 307); the trial of Jesus and the unlikelihood that Pilate would send him to Antipas (Mk 12:13-17 par, 309); and the reason why Pilate reluctantly turned Jesus over to the Jerusalem mob (after his mentor, Sejanus, a noted opponent of the Jews, was executed in Rome in 31 C.E., Pilate was particularly vulnerable to charges that he was no friend of Caesar, p. 312). Richardson's observations that Jesus seemed to have chosen to withdraw to Herod Philip's territory (on the other side of the lake), possibly for political necessity or personal safety, merit further study (304 f.). The interpretation of the parable of "the entrusted money" (Lk 19:11-27); Mt 25:14-30) appears to be on less solid ground, however, being based on a questionable reconstruction of the Q version, concluding that it obliquely refers to Archelaus' trip to see Augustus in Rome, and the subsequent ragged administration of his ethnarchy (299-300).

Richardson's study is especially valuable when he explores Herod's relationship to the Roman Empire, demonstrating that his

connections with Julius Caesar, Sextus Caesar, Marcus Antonius and Augustus were precisely that which would have been expected between a highly placed client and patron. His comparisons between the administrative and family problems that Herod and Augustus both faced provide valuable insights into the inner workings of the Empire (26,34, 38, 262).

The description of the close relationship between Herod and Marcus Agrippa (Augustus' close friend and son-in-law, father of his successors) demonstrates how Herod maintained close contact with the Augustan court.

Chapter 8 delineates Herod's extensive building projects not only in his own kingdom, but in several other places throughout the Empire as well. In his own territory those in Jerusalem, Herodeion, Masada and Caesarea Maritima are probably the best known and most outstanding. Richardson correctly notes that Herod had many motives for these projects: to express gratitude and honour to Augustus (Sebaste) and other Romans (Antonia Tower in Jerusalem) who had supported him; to develop a system of fortresses along the Rift Valley; to provide himself with comfortable and opulent residences; to build memorials to heroes of the Jewish faith (Abraham in Hebron); to provide for economic expansion and work relief in his kingdom; to assure the propagation of Roman culture in the areas he ruled; to embrace the Augustan Imperial Cult; to insure that the legitimacy of Jewish worship was recognized throughout the Empire (the reconstructed Temple Mount was the largest sacred area in the world); and to provide himself with an international reputation for generosity as well as insuring that Diaspora Jews gained increased respect abroad in areas where his donations were given.

In a second, more recent work, Duane W. Roller meticulously examines Herod's extensive building projects (*The Building Program of Herod the Great*, University of California Press, 1998, 351pp., ISBN 0-520-20934-6), investigating and cataloguing the 27 different sites within his kingdom and the 23 projects in other countries (including Antioch-on-the Orontes, Athens, Damaskos, Ilion, Cos, Nikopolis, Olympia, Rome and Sparta) which Herod endowed and constructed.

His conclusions are important not only in reference to Herod's influence on the biblical climate of Judea, but in regard to architecture and political philosophy in the Roman world at large.

Herod's building projects extended throughout the eastern Empire, from western Greece to Syria and were not limited to the regions of his own kingdom. His first public building was constructed in Rhodes and a project which was to be one of the most politically significant was the building of the city of Nikopolis in honour of Octavian's victory over Antonius at Actium.

Even though there were abundant examples of monumental and temple architecture in Greece, Herod wanted to be on the forefront of new technology (especially in harbour construction and hydraulics) and made his buildings more Roman than Hellenistic in inspiration and form.

Herod's projects influenced architecture in the East for several centuries to come. Not only his dynastic successors but other client kings in neighbouring regions followed Herod's example, especially in the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek, in the Temple of the Winged Lion in Petra, in the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, and in other building programs in various parts of the Decapolis.

His architecture influenced trends, not only in the area around Judea, but in Rome itself, especially in reference to amphitheatres, harbours and baths. As Roller puts it, "In terms of baths and amphitheatres, Judea was better endowed than Rome before the time of Nero. The numerous baths Herod built, while relatively modest and generally private than public, were forerunners of those at Rome: at the time of Herod's death, the city seems to have only one public bath, that of Marcus Agrippa, completed between 19 and 22 BC.... Thus it was not until the middle of the first century AD that Rome began to have structures that Judea had known for over a half a century" (pp. 258-259).

Herod introduced architecturally significant buildings to a region that did not have monumental architecture previously, solving problems generally not found elsewhere as architects had to build huge baths and water storage systems in areas known for their aridity. He was responsible, what is more, for bringing the Italian temple style (based to a large extent on Roman villa construction) to the Levant.

Rollin's work is well written and carefully researched. The style is engaging and fluid and those interested in Roman history and the influence of Herod may come to his concluding chapter with the desire to read it again and to make travel arrangements to visit (or revisit) the sites which are so carefully described and examined.

Rollin's ability to assemble and integrate information from disparate sources is impressive. Drawing primarily on the works of Josephus, he supplements them with a careful examination of Roman authors (of particular importance are the writings of Appian, Augustus, Cicero, Dio Cassius, Frontinus, Livy, Ovid, Plutarch, Strabo of Amaseia, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Vitruvius), modern architectural reports and first hand knowledge (he personally visited all of the Herodian building sites and provided most of the photographs in the volume). He draws on the fragments of Herod's advisor, Nikolaos of Damaskos, and tries to reconstruct the lost memoirs of Herod where possible.

Basing his conclusions partly on a speech attributed by Josephus to Herod himself at the time of the dedication of the Temple (*Antiquities* 15.382-88), Roller provides interlocking answers to the question why Herod engaged in so many building projects. Of course he did it partly because client kings were expected to use their wealth for public improvement; and he did it to memorialize himself and his family. But beyond these expected reasons Roller convincingly argues that Herod also did it to benefit the people of Judea, not just himself. An incident early in his reign when he sold much of his private art collection to buy grain for the people of his kingdom when they found themselves in the midst of a famine illustrates the king's personal concern and generosity. Herod also built because he appreciated the beauty of the new buildings and he wanted them to adorn his kingdom. Possibly he was motivated, at least in part, by the destruction caused by the earthquake in Judea in 30 BCE when more than 30,000 people were killed and countless public buildings and homes were destroyed. He used monumental building projects to create stronger ties with Rome by building and dedicating edifices to prominent Romans. He constructed the Temple to express his own piety for the God of the Jews. And, as Roller clearly demonstrates, he built in order to carry on the visions and dreams of Julius Caesar that were cut short prematurely by his assassination. Roller carefully notes the

economic impact of Herod's construction. Since the building of the Temple alone employed over 18,000 workers at one time and it was not completed for forty six years, one can only imagine what construction in places like Masada, Caesarea Maritima, Sepphoris, and the rest of Jerusalem did to eliminate unemployment in Judea. Although massive building is often done at the expense of the populace this was generally not the case in Herod's kingdom. Herod himself claimed that the Temple was built at his own expense. As Roller points out, Herod's financing came from several sources. He had inherited significant wealth from his father Antipatros and from his mother who was a Nabatean princess. Confiscation of land from wealthy political enemies added to his treasury and it was further supplemented by innovative sales taxes, Augustus' gift of half of the revenue of the Cypriot copper mines as well as possible grants from the Roman government.

Of particular interest is Rollin's careful delineation of Herod's interaction with Roman mentors and the influence Roman imperialism had on the maintenance of his kingdom. Herod was able to stay in power in spite of volcanic changes in the government of Rome. Having aligned himself with Julius Caesar, C. Cassius Longinus, Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra, and with Octavian, Herod was able to maintain his political strength through shrewdness, intrigue and brutal honesty in time of trouble. Rollin's description of Herod's fluid relationship with Augustus provides insights into Augustus' particular style of leadership and the way Rome generally dealt with client kings.

Herod's relationship with Marcus Agrippa was especially important because Agrippa was Caesar's friend, and Herod's friend, ally, supporter and mentor. Since Agrippa was second only to Augustus in the building of public projects in Rome and since he focused especially on the erection of streets, sewers, aqueducts and sewers, Herod would have been particularly interested in what he could learn about hydraulics from him during his seminal visit to Rome in 40 BCE and in Agrippa's forays to Jerusalem on more than one occasion. Agrippa was so important in Herod's life that his successors bore his name for many generations thereafter (Acts 25:13). "One cannot overemphasize the influence Agrippa had on Herod. Even if their friendship was at its most intense only during the last decade of Agrippa's life, this was when Herod was at his peak.....Agrippa spent almost as much time with Herod as with

Augustus: this more than anything else supports Josephus' statement about mutual esteem.... Through Agrippa, Herod learned how a Roman should act, and Agrippa saw a dynast of the Hellenistic east at the peak of his powers. It was in large part owing to Agrippa that Herod modelled his architecture on Rome, and not on the Greek world, and that his architectural benefactions extended beyond Judea throughout the Greek world and perhaps to Rome itself" (pp. 52-53).

Assessing Herod as a king and as a person is complicated by the thoroughness and objectivity of Rollin's and Richardson's excellent volumes. Both conclude with an honest attempt to offer a fair analysis.

Herod was cruel and tyrannical. And even though his life and death stand in sharp contrast to those of Jesus of Nazareth (a contrast Christians need to keep in mind when they are inevitably attracted by power and wealth), Richardson's perspective of Herod provides a needed balance by focusing on his considerable accomplishments as well as his reputation for brutality. As he puts it (p. 314),

Herod was not a monster; he had the good of his people at heart, just as he had the best interests of Rome in view. He was "King of the Jews"; he wished no other position and had no intention of reshaping Judaism into a new mutation. He also was "Friend of Romans"; he had no wish to withdraw from the opportunities and benefits that this bestowed. It is in the tension between these two that he and his family lived their lives and made their reputations. Roller also appreciates Herod's strengths and weaknesses. The Herodian building program established the pattern for Roman architecture in Syria and the Levant, and indeed much of the Roman East, a pattern that survived until the ultimate decline and collapse of Roman political control. Yet, ironically, Herod's architectural legacy was stronger outside his kingdom than within it. After the end of the Herodian dynasty, it was not until the end of the fourth century AC and the spate of Constantinian Church building that the southern Levant was again significant architecturally. ... Herod was not alone: throughout the Roman world of the last part of the first century BC there was a significant amount of building, particularly by the client kings..... But the factors affecting Herod were unique, since he had to contend with the turbulent internal politics and religious sensitivities of Judea, a dangerous frontier situation, and a society that was still

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economically primitive. In one sense he was a failure: his was the first of the great client kingdoms to come under direct Roman control, and his immediate architectural legacy did not outlive his dynasty. But in using architecture as a metaphor for proper exercise of political power and the establishment of a new world order, he was particularly successful. (Pp. 254, 262)

Although positive assessments are a necessary historical corrective, their danger should also be obvious to readers looking back over the 20th century and ready to plunge into the 21st. It is enticing to be attracted to Herod because of his power, wealth and creativity and understand why it would have been easy to become a Herodian. Yet in a century that has seen more human beings killed through violence than all the centuries before, we cannot afford to overlook the fact that Herod, like his Roman mentors, chiefly used violence for political repression, to root out disloyalty and to solve any persistent problem that would not yield to other means. Herod's broken relationship with his family demonstrates that he always put himself, his kingdom and Roman imperialism ahead of his children and his wives. In spite of his many accomplishments, Herod the Great hardly stands for the kind of ruler or person we should seek to emulate in the next century. As Flavius Josephus writes in his analysis of Herod's strengths and weaknesses,

He was a man who was cruel to all alike and one who easily gave in to anger and was contemptuous of justice. And yet he was as greatly favoured by fortune as any man has ever been in that from being a commoner he was made king, and though compassed by innumerable perils, he managed to escape them all and lived on to a very old age. As for the affairs of his household and his relation to his sons, he had, in his own opinion at least, enjoyed every good fortune since he had not failed to get the better of those whom he considered his enemies, but in my opinion, he was very unfortunate indeed. *Antiquities*, XVII, 191-192 Translated by Ralph Marcus, Loeb Classical Library¹

¹ Other Books of Interest John A. Darr, *Herod the Fox, Audience Criticism and Lukan Characterization*, JSNTS Supplement Series 163, Sheffield, 1998; Richard Fenn, *The Death of Herod, An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Communion Shapes Character, Eleanor Kreider. Herald Press
304pp; \$19.99

'You are what you eat! You are what you wear! You are because you think! - so runs the range of wisdom (or otherwise!) from the 17th century philosopher to the 20th century slogan-writer.

To this spectrum of insight, Eleanor Kreider, a part-time lecturer in liturgy at Regent's Park College, would have us add, 'You are how you celebrate the Lord's Supper', because 'Communion shapes Character'.

Communion, she defines as "the celebration of a joyful community gathered around a table, remembering and meeting its Lord, who is both host and guest", but sees that in many respects the church has strayed from this concept. Instead of being marked by joy and thanksgiving, it has been characterised by sombre, rigid ritual; instead of being a community activity, the table has been 'fenced'. "How far we have come from the meal table services of the early communities! Is our "Lord's Table" a contradiction or at least a misnomer? The "church's table" might be a more exact name." [26]

There follows an historical survey of how communion was instituted by Jesus, practised by his first followers, contorted into medieval mass and liturgy, partially restored by the Reformers, and rather more fully recovered recently to be part of a worship that is "rooted in Scripture, aware of Christian history and committed to relevance." [90]

On concluding the survey, Kreider reworks the material thematically, picking up the such key terms as 'giving thanks', 'remembering', 'feasting', 'sharing' and 'reconciling'. Having affirmed (rather than defined) Christ's presence in the sacrament Kreider explores ways in which communion can shape the character of a congregation's life and mission. Her book concludes with the more practical issues of how to "do" communion in such a life-giving and life-changing way, and offers some suggested resources for conducting communion.

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To offer credit where credit is due, I liked the individual chapter layout where Kreider gives an opening summary before unpacking it in subsequent pages. I also admired the strong conviction which she brings to her theme. She is clearly convinced of the efficacy of the thesis she propounds.

Against that, I have misgivings regarding the overall organisation of the book. Time and again one finds oneself back, for instance, at the thanksgiving motif and at 'early Christianity [which] was a religion of forgiven, redeemed, confident believers'! [120]. One asks, are these the same people whom Paul addressed in 1 Thessalonians and 1 Corinthians?

More seriously, I found nothing in the argument to confound the counter-thesis that it is in fact the character of the Christian community that shapes communion, and not *vice versa*.

Further, I feared sometimes that Kreider's enthusiasm for communion took her perilously close to the position that eucharistic worship was the only kind of real worship (or the best kind of worship), such that money offerings, intercessions and prayers for healing are seen as more fitting and more effective in a eucharistic context. {One assumes that Kreider reads a eucharistic element, for instance, into the gathering recorded in Acts 12:12. Or, if not, one wonders what more would have happened that night had the eucharist been included!}

The same enthusiasm, I believe, lead her:

- (1) to make some untenable statements. For example, in discussing the knotty issue of 'partaking unworthily' Kreider asserts, 'It is plural... "Examine yourselves", "discern the body", says Paul' [25]. This is simply not so. 1 Cor.11:28 is singular.
- (2) to see eucharistic overtones in church Coffee Mornings, Parents and Children's groups and Picnics, though, interestingly, not in Buffets!

Such observations surely lie in the realm of personal preference and conviction. And speaking of which, I personally found less-than-moving the suggested Agape service resource where the leader calls

for cheese or yoghurt and declares, 'O God, sanctify this milk which has been coagulated, and coagulate us also to your love'! [274]

Further, I remain unconvinced that the practice (rather than the principle) of foot-washing was 'clearly mandated by Christ'[288], and I am puzzled that the foot-washing imperative should remained undiminished while the injunction of the holy kiss can be diluted to 'a general exchange of peace greetings'. [158]

Robert Webber in the Foreword enthuses, "Don't just read this book. Devour it! Read it again and again." Having just laid it down, I cannot bring myself to a similar conviction, but it is certainly worth reading once.

J.H.Robinson

Richard L. Greaves, *Dublin's Merchant Quaker; Anthony Sharp and the Community of Friends, 1643—1707*. Stanford University Press. 1998. ISBN 08047 3452 6. £35.00.

In the seventeenth century there were about five thousand members of the Society of Friends in Ireland. They had meetings in fifty-three centres. They were a closely-knit and prosperous community. Professor Greaves of Florida State University has produced in this volume a fine account of their faith and practice, focussing upon Anthony Sharp who, though born in England, became one of the leading Quakers in Ireland.

Anthony Sharp was born in 1843. He was brought up in the Church of England but became a Quaker. His father was in the woollen trade. Anthony joined him in that trade and then moved to Dublin where he set up as a weaver. He prospered in business. He became a leading member of the Weavers' Guild and, though he refused to take the customary oath of office, he rose to be Master of the Guild. He was also an influential city councillor, though here again he had scruples about wearing the official robe or attending city banquets.

He became a member of the Dublin meeting of the Society of Friends. He travelled widely, attending meetings of the Society at local, provincial and national level. He visited Quaker meetings in Scotland and England, and even on the Continent. He acted as secretary of many Quaker councils, keeping records of the

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sufferings incurred by Quakers for their loyalty to their principles, collecting records of deceased Quakers, some of these obituaries written by himself, auditing the accounts of many meetings, and dealing with cases of discipline where Quakers had fallen from the characteristic standards of the Society or even had fallen asleep during meetings. He constantly urged members to stand fast in refusing to take oaths or to pay tithes. Such a stand often led to court appearances, to imprisonment, and to distraint of Property. Sharp himself suffered distraint of goods. Greaves estimates that Irish Quakers incurred losses of about £100,000. Sharp spent much time with government ministers, bishops and judges pleading for penalised Quakers and advocating changes in the laws which led to their penalisation. King William tried to ease the Quaker conscience over oaths by introducing the Affirmative Act (1696) which allowed people, instead of taking an oath to say, 'I declare in the presence of Almighty God the truth of what I say'. While some Quakers in England agreed to take advantage of this Act, Sharp and most Irish Quakers refused to do so, arguing that a plain Yea or Nay should suffice. Because they refused to use the new form, many Quakers had their taxes doubled.

Greaves gives many more examples of Quaker sufferings, their fines and their imprisonment, and also of the struggle for relief.

George Fox had stressed the importance of each person responding to the 'inner light' which lighted every person, but Sharp also realized that an unregulated and independent dependence upon an inner light could lead to anarchy. Greaves concludes that 'Sharp's record of involvement in the community of Friends in Ireland is extraordinary'. He did much to hold the Society together; he did this so effectively that in the end he led the Society from its sectarian infancy towards its acceptance as a respected denomination and also perhaps to a growing accommodation with the surrounding world. He gave this advice to a nephew, 'Be concerned in differences as little as possible, but be as much as maybe at peace with all'.

This is a stimulating and informative book which will further enhance Professor Greaves' reputation as a historian of the seventeenth century.

Buick Knox